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PAGE 01 STATE 081861

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ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 /020 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RES:FTUMMINIA
APPROVED BY INR/DDR:MPACKMAN
EUR/RPM:RFROWICK
INR/RES:KKERST

----- 085188

R 101929Z APR 75
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO OIC PTC
INFO USMISSION NATO
ALL NATO CAPITALS

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PASS FOLLOWING VIA THE NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM
RR RWFVA RWFWB RWFWD RWFWE RWFWF RWFVG RWFWH RWFWI RWFWK
RWFVL RWFWM RWFVN RWFVO RWFVP RWFVQ RWFWR RWFVZ

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: ROMANIA: CEAUSESCU AGAIN RESTRUCTURES
LEADERSHIP

1. BETWEEN LATE NOVEMBER 1974 AND MARCH 1975, CEAUSESCU
COMPLETED HIS MOST RECENT RESTRUCTURING OF THE TOP LEADER-
SHIP OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT,
THEREBY CONFIRMING HIS CONTROL OVER THEM. HE STARTED THIS
PROCESS IN MARCH 1974, TOOK IT A STEP FURTHER AT THE 11TH
PARTY CONGRESS LAST NOVEMBER, AND APPEARS TO HAVE CONCLUDED
IT WITH THE ELECTION OF A "NEW" GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN
MARCH 1975.

2. BEGINNING WITH THE CHANGES RATIFIED AT THE PLENUM OF THE
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HELD MARCH 25-26, 1974, CEAUSESCU HAS:

(A)--CUT THE SIZE OF THE STANDING BUREAU TO FIVE MEMBERS (IN ADDITION TO HIMSELF), ALL OF THEM CLOSE COLLABORATORS;
(B)--ATROPHIED THE ALREADY FEEBLE COUNCIL OF STATE BY DECREASING ITS MEMBERSHIP FROM 27 TO 17 AND BY ELIMINATING SOME OF ITS MORE OUTSPOKEN MEMBERS;

(C)--MADE ONE OF HIS MORE COLORLESS BUT OBSEQUIOUS FOLLOWERS, MANEA MANESCU, PRIME MINISTER, REPLACING THE INDEPENDENT-MINDED MAURER;

(D)--HAD HIMSELF ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNTRY, THUS FORMALLY CENTERING IN HIS PERSON THE CONTROL OF THE PARTY, THE STATE, AND THE ARMED FORCES;

(E)--REMOVED FROM THE PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBERS WHO WOULD STAND UP TO HIM.

3. PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CHANGES: THE LATEST CHANGES, MADE PUBLIC ON MARCH 15 AND 17, SAW THE FALL OF THE FORMERLY POWERFUL CADRE BOSS, GHEORGHE PANA. HE WAS REMOVED FROM HIS JOBS IN THE PARTY SECRETARIAT AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND GIVEN THE MUCH LESS INFLUENTIAL POSITION OF TRADE UNION CHIEF. APPARENTLY PANA HAD BEEN LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC IN CARRYING OUT CEAUSESCU'S DIRECTIVES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHOICE OF CONGRESS DELEGATES AND CANDIDATES TO THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

4. EMIL BOBU, THE FORMER MINISTER OF INTERIOR, WAS PROMOTED TO THE SECRETARIAT AND TO ONE OF THE VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. LITTLE KNOWN UNTIL MARCH 1973, HE MUST NOW BE CONSIDERED ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEN IN THE PARTY. HE HAS Risen IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS, APPARENTLY IN REWARD FOR FAITHFUL SERVICE TO CEAUSESCU, TO THE EXECUTIVE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE SECRETARIAT, AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE. HE WAS REPLACED AS INTERIOR MINISTER BY HIS DEPUTY, TEODOR COMAN.

5. IOSIF BANC, AN ETHNIC HUNGARIAN, WAS RETURNED TO THE SECRETARIAT AFTER AN ABSENCE OF SOME TWO YEARS. THE REASON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR HIS RESURGENCE IS UNCLEAR. IT MAY MEAN THAT SOME OF THE ECONOMIC DUTIES OF ILIE VERDET, ANOTHER PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBER, WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO BANC.

6. ONLY MINOR AND EXPECTED CHANGES OCCURRED IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IN ADDITION TO COMAN'S DESIGNATION AS MINISTER OF INTERIOR, NEW MINISTERS WERE APPOINTED FOR HEALTH, JUSTICE, AND MACHINE TOOLS. THEY ALL ARE TECHNICIANS AND

PROFESSIONALS IN THEIR FIELDS. THE ERSTWHILE MINISTER OF MACHINE TOOLS, VIRGIL ACTARIAN, WAS DISMISSED IN DISGRACE FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR UNSPECIFIED BREACH OF ETHICAL RULES AND "INSINCERITY TO THE PARTY."

7. FORTHCOMING TRAVELS: HAVING COMPLETED HIS CLEANUP AT HOME, CEAUSESCU IS NOW READY TO RESUME HIS TRAVELS ABROAD. DURING APRIL HE WILL VISIT JAPAN, THE PHILIPPINES, JORDAN, TUNISIA, AND KUWAIT.

8. CEAUSESCU'S WILLINGNESS TO ABSENT HIMSELF FROM THE COUNTRY FOR SOME THREE WEEKS SUGGESTS THAT HE BELIEVES HIMSELF UNCHALLENGED AND UNCHALLENGEABLE. HIS TRAVELS WILL ENABLE HIM TO REASSERT ROMANIA'S PENCHANT FOR PLAYING A MAVERICK ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME WILL PROMOTE HIS PRESTIGE. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 APR 1975
Decapton Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: woolflhd
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE081861
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: FTUMMINIA
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750126-0900
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750462/aaaacetn.tel
Line Count: 131
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: woolflhd
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 AUG 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 AUG 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <01 DEC 2003 by woolflhd>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CEAUSESCU REORGANIZES ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, RO, (CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE)
To: OIC PTC
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006